when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Cuihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

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Cornfield Sizes and Yields

According to Siaton's municipal land records there are 580 acres classified as maizal (cornfields) in Caticugan, owned by 291 different persons. The records list 321 individual fields since some own more than one field; the average size was 1.9 acres. Of the owners of corn land 64 per cent live in Caticugan, 14 per cent in Siaton poblacion, 7 per cent in Sandolot, 5 per cent in Datag and 4 per cent in Mantuyop. The remaining owners live in Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, Maloh, Cabangahan, Omanod and Sta. Catalina poblacion. While 36 per cent of the owners of cornfields do not live in Caticugan, 51 per cent of the owners of paddies live in other communities.[51]

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I made a survey in Caticugan to check the accuracy of the municipal land records and obtain additional data on tenancy. Ownership and tenancy figures obtained through this survey indicate that tenancy is higher for paddy than cornfields. Information gathered from this survey is given in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII

Percentages of Ownership and Tenancy of Caticugan's Paddy and Cornfields -- 1951

	Paddies	Cornfields
Owner	50	60
Owner-Tenant	13	27
Tenant	37	13

[51] These are approximate figures; field sizes may not be accurately recorded or may be in other sitios of Caticugan, a fact not always noted on the records. However, special care was taken to check as thoroughly as possible the actual residences and not to include fields in other sitios. I am grateful to the municipal treasurer, Ramon Regalado, and the chief clerk of the municipio, for assistence in this matter.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

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catching pelagic fish in Siaton. Though all the people sell or barter their surplus fish, the bonsod and netting of fish are the most commercialized fishing activities in Siaton, requiring the largest capital investment. The material that follows does not describe the daily activities of the barriofolk of Caticugan, but rather the various commercial fishermen (many of whom live in the poblacion and are municipal officials) and the residents of the fishing barrios that huddle under the coconuts by the blue sea.

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The basis for the Philippine government's present legal control over public waters was the Spanish Law of Waters (1866). What is commonly considered the basic fishing law of the Republic (Act No. 4003) was not passed until 1932. With passage of this Act, the scope of the national government's power and authority over exploitation, protection and conservation of the fishery resources of the Philippines was fully recognized.

> One important feature of Act No. 4003 is the dual authority exercised by both the insular government and the municipal government over fishing and fisheries...This dual authority...has been the cause of frequent controversies between the municipal governments, on the one hand, and the insular or national government on the other. These conflicts are inevitable, undoubtedly due to the political subdivisions of the state...the inherent right of each political subdivision [municipality] to own private or patrimonial property which may include portions of the sea, rivers, etc.; and the desire of the municipal corporations to increase their revenue.[32]

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[32]Jose Sanchez, "What You Should Know About Our Fishery Laws," Times-Mirror 3rd Annual Report on Agriculture and Industrial Progress. Manila, Manila Times-Daily Mirror, (October 30, 1952), p. 26.

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (bosay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan. The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.